

AMERICA

Communists Turn Left Again

by Benjamin L. Masse



I Was Chaplain on the *Franklin*

by Joseph T. O'Callahan, S.J.

Between East and West

by E. M. Voyta

"There Is No Law..."

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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

President Carries On. Two months do not make an administration and it is still much too early to pass definitive judgment on the man whom death catapulted into the Presidency at one of the most difficult and critical moments in the nation's history. But nothing happened during the past week which weakened the fine impression Mr. Truman has already made on the country. With a minimum of fanfare he dispatched Joseph Davies to London and Harry Hopkins to Moscow to prepare the way for a badly needed meeting of the Big Three. Impressed by the desperate need of feeding and rehabilitating Europe as quickly as possible, he took counsel with former President Hoover, the one man in the country who, from experience gained after the last war, might be expected to know the answers. He intervened in the House debate on renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and had the satisfaction, despite almost solid Republican opposition, of seeing the bill passed and sent along to the Senate. Plunging into another controversial question, he recommended that unemployment benefits be liberalized during the reconversion period and that Federal funds be appropriated for this purpose. Finally, he asked the Congress to enact legislation, "without delay," to give the Chief Executive broad powers to reorganize the sprawling, war-swollen Executive Branch of the Government. He suggested that the legislation "be sufficiently broad and flexible to permit of any form of organizational adjustment, large or small, for which necessity may arise." The rights of Congress, he said, could be protected by inserting a clause from the 1939 Reorganization Bill permitting it to nullify any executive order by passage of a concurrent resolution not subject to veto. Reaction in Congress—many members were absent on junkets in various parts of the world—to the firm, crisp moves of the new President was, on the whole, favorable.

Reconverting the Government. As President Truman pointed out in his statement to Congress, despite its concern with an orderly transition from war to peace, it has not yet made any provision for reconverting the Government itself. He noted that during the course of the war many changes had been made in Government agencies under the first War Powers Act, and that all these changes, under the terms of the law, would be automatically canceled six months after the war. This artificial reversion to the pre-war status would introduce intolerable confusion in the Federal establishment and could be avoided if the Congress acceded to his present request. Recalling past Congressional criticism of the inefficiency of the Executive Branch, he thought that Congress ought not to deny the President the means to make the continuous adjustments which are necessary to remove the sources of criticism. Mr. Truman might well have pointed out also that the Government is now composed of almost 1,200 departments and bureaus and employs some 3,000,000 people. If there is to be a return to anything like pre-war dimensions, when only a million workers were on the payroll, it is clear that the President must be given a fairly free hand to reorganize and consolidate the various agencies. Congress ought to take action without delay on this reasonable demand.

Clash in the Levant. News of street fighting in Damascus between French infantry and local Syrian civilians—coupled with reports of a Cabinet crisis in Paris—makes no har-

monious serenade for the concluding days of the San Francisco Conference. As Anne O'Hare McCormick observed in her New York Times column for May 30, the events in Syria and the Lebanon Republic are a perfect example of the sort of situation which the world organization will be expected to handle, once it starts functioning—conflicting interests, brewing causes of war, opportunity for conciliation and other peacetime procedures, etc. But the UNCIO is still in the ideal order, and France's Foreign Minister Georges Bidault is caught between two opposites. On the one side is General de Gaulle, arguing with great intensity that if France is to play any part in the Far Eastern war, she must retain her Near East bases against any encroachments on the part of Arab nationalists working behind the Syrian and Lebanese scenes, and abetted by the British who jealously keep their spheres of influence in those regions. On the other hand, the people of France, with whom Bidault stands in close contact, want peace and bread and order and friendship abroad and no more war. If Bidault can keep the peace at home between two such contradictory concepts of France's ability and destiny, he will indeed show himself a man of genius.

"An Open Lie." Apparently *Osservatore Romano*, along with the rest of the world, has come to the conclusion that appeasing Russia is a thankless business. Until recently it has used a mild tone in denying the vicious falsehoods which the Kremlin has been spewing through its press and radio

THIS WEEK

COMMENT ON THE WEEK.....	185
The Nation at War.....Col. Conrad H. Lanza	187
Washington Front.....Wilfrid Parsons	187
Underscorings.....Louis E. Sullivan	187
ARTICLES	
I Was Chaplain on the Franklin.....Joseph T. O'Callahan, S.J.	188
Communists Turn Left Again.....Benjamin L. Masse	189
Russia Challenges The Allied Conscience.....John LaFarge	191
Between East and West.....E. M. Voyta	191
"There Is No Law".....Raymond C. Jancauskas	192
EDITORIALS.....	194
Report on UNCIO... Human Reconversion...	
The Veto Power... Social-Security Bill	
LITERATURE AND ART.....	196
Superman Grabs Chance to Teach Grammar.....R. Southard	
News (A Poem).....Daniel Sargent	
Government Pier, South Haven (A Poem).....Norbert Engels	
BOOKS.....REVIEWED BY	
The Apostleship of Public Opinion.....John LaFarge	198
Enjoying the New Testament... William A. Dowd	199
Through Japanese Eyes... Europe	
Now.....Paul Kiniery	200
THEATRE.....FILMS.....PARADE	202
CORRESPONDENCE.....THE WORD	203

against the Vatican. On May 28 it called a spade a spade and characterized the latest Moscow accusation "an open lie." Seizing on any irresponsible statement, however unfounded, that will serve its propaganda purposes, Radio Moscow had charged that the Vatican newspaper had openly opposed the Yalta agreements in its issue of May 20 and had advocated an indulgent attitude towards Germany. In its reply *Osservatore* declared that Radio Moscow had not cited one positive act or one authentic word from its pages to support the charge. Stalin, it seems, has studied the pages of *Mein Kampf* to good effect. He seems to work on the principle laid down by the late but unlamented author of that book: the people will believe any lie, provided you make it big enough and repeat it often enough.

Emergency Aid to Colleges. Another Federal-Aid bill is on the Congressional calendar. It is the Barden Bill (H.R. 3116). Its purpose is to prevent the present crisis in higher educational institutions from becoming so acute as to seriously undermine the whole structure of higher education. The bill establishes a seven-man Commission on Emergency Aid to Higher Educational Institutions to administer an emergency fund of \$25 million. It is intended that the Commission shall review the financial status of any institution that applies for aid. A need for aid will be presumed to exist when full-time resident enrolment, military and civilian, of an institution has dropped for three consecutive quarters or two semesters below 60 per cent of the average enrolment for the academic years 1937-1940. How much aid an institution should receive will be computed on the basis of its loss of income from student fees due to this drop below 60 per cent of its pre-war enrolment. All emergency aid will be available to both public and private institutions and it will cease within six months after the war is over. The whole program of Federal aid is thus for the emergency only. As such, and because it is aimed at relieving a really critical situation, which besets the smaller liberal-arts colleges especially, the Barden Bill deserves public acclaim and support.

Relief Abroad. Though this Review has been consistently impatient with the scanty results forthcoming from the large-souled concept that animates UNRRA, let it be said that we have never been critical of UNRRA itself. Rather, we have but reiterated the complaints that have been spoken openly by many of UNRRA's own officials, Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, Director, included. These complaints have centered around such facts as the lethargy of some of the contributing nations in making their pledged supplies available, the positive hindrance that a few nations, notably Russia, have placed in the way of UNRRA's functioning, the too-easily alleged scarcity of bottoms for shipping, and other practical problems that have to be solved for UNRRA before it can function as it desires. There are indications now, thanks be to God, that the wheels have been oiled to some extent. Despite criticism of UNRRA's operations in Greece, by the end of June that country will have received 777,000 tons of supplies, consisting largely of flour and cereals. Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Italy and UNRRA camps in Africa and the Middle East will have received the remainder of the 1.25 million tons allotted through the end of June. In addition to this distribution of supplies, a feature of UNRRA's services that is not much known is its work with displaced persons: in Germany alone, according to UNRRA's *Monthly Review* for May, over 100 teams are already working, and twenty-five additional teams a week are setting to the task. Where allowed to work without being made a political foot-

ball, UNRRA is laboring manfully and fruitfully. If the total results seem small to date, it is merely because the needs are so appalling that UNRRA's contribution is thus far but the well known drop in the bucket.

Steps to Widen Relief. To swell the size of that drop, or to shrink the size of the bucket, the President of the United States is making some significant moves. Perhaps the most noteworthy to date is his discussion of the matter with Mr. Herbert Hoover. That move has been warmly and deservedly applauded as a fine non-partisan action. Mr. Truman is apparently willing to overleap lines of party, patronage and politics in this regard, and to endeavor to ease Europe's agony by this sound advice-seeking. It would be heartening if Mr. Hoover could be induced to do more than advise; if he, who has had more practical experience in the matter of feeding a starving Europe than probably any other American, could have a position opened for him wherein he could actually do some of the organizing and directing, our good will would be given positive and practical expression. Despite the disparities between Mr. Hoover's job after World War I and what has to be done today, despite complications existing now that were not even dreamed of then, we feel positive that there is work Mr. Hoover can do and wants to do. If that can be arranged, Mr. Truman's rather historic conversation with Mr. Hoover will be remembered not only as unselfish non-partisanship, but as a stroke of wise and humane statesmanship. Europe is waiting. UNRRA is laboring manfully. Can't we do more?

"Behold, I Am With You All Days." Under the best of circumstances the job of reconstruction facing the Church in Germany would be a staggering one. As it is she has to tackle it badly crippled by the loss of her spiritual and material resources. Thousands of her cathedrals, churches and schools lie in ruins. But this loss will be far more easily repaired than the gaps in the ranks of the priesthood. For a whole generation of new priests has been lost through the Nazi Government's conscription of students, the closing of seminaries and other war measures. According to figures given in the London *Universe* for March 29, 97 per cent of all seminarists were compelled to give up their ecclesiastical studies and were forced into the army. Hundreds died on the battlefield or were captured. Many of the seminaries were closed and even those that remained open were empty during the last years of the war. The number of the newly ordained in the Munich Diocese alone dropped from an average 150 in 1933 to three in 1944. These are disheartening figures. Nevertheless there is no note of discouragement in the statements of the German Bishops. On the contrary, they breathe a spirit of relief that the slow strangulation of Nazism has been removed, and an eagerness to get at the job of rebuilding. They count, of course, on the indestructible vitality of the Church and the power of recovery that has enabled her to rise again and again from the rubble of even more devastating ruin.

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THE NATION AT WAR

A SMALL, but rather important, campaign is under way in far-off Borneo. Few people give attention to what is occurring there, though it is an important link in contemplated movements to be made later.

On May 1, an Australian Division, together with some Dutch troops, invaded the small island of Tarakan, on the northeast coast of Borneo. The expedition was supported by the American 7th Fleet and Air Forces. The operation is under control of General MacArthur in his capacity as commander in chief of the Southwest Pacific area.

Tarakan is a little place which has large oil wells. It is the nearest center to Japan for natural oil in the East Indies. Our invasion deprives the Japanese of this source of oil. We can use the oil ourselves, and will be glad to do it. For the forthcoming invasion of Japan an enormous amount of oil will be needed—literally millions of tons. In France, oil was pumped by undersea pipe-lines from England. This was possible because England had facilities for storing the oil. The distance across the English Channel was 25 miles in one place; 80 in another. The sea is shallow. Under these favorable circumstances pipe-lines worked.

Near Japan there is no convenient place just across a shallow sea from where oil can be pumped. The ocean around Japan is unusually deep—six miles or more—which is vastly different from the maximum of 250 feet around Britain. Oil for Japan must be sent in tankers. This is being done now, some coming from California, 7,000 miles away, or places still more distant. From Tarakan it is only 2,000 miles to Japan, and less than 800 to Manila. These shorter distances will enable a big saving to be made in the number of tankers required.

Tarakan oil is unusually pure, and is reported as fit for use without refining. All we need is the wells and shipping facilities. If we had to build a refinery it would probably take all of a year to do it. Some of the wells have been already taken, as well as the town of Tarakan. The Jap garrison has taken to the jungle hills, where they are resisting in a cave-and-tunnel position. Operations are now under way to reduce this enemy and clear the island for the use of the Allies.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

WHEN I SUGGESTED last week that President Truman was thinking of reorganizing the executive establishment of the Federal Government, my surmise was not based on personal information but on a number of separate little things that all pointed the same way but that seemed to have escaped the press. Unfortunately for me, the day after those words were written—but too late to catch last week's issue—the President surprised Congress by sending it a message demanding the very thing that I thought would not come until after V-J Day.

President Truman asked for something that Roosevelt was never able to get, and he probably won't get it either. He wants power to bring all the administrative agencies within the regular executive Departments. In 1939, when Roosevelt asked for reorganization powers, he was granted them, but was not allowed to touch twenty-one of the agencies. This time, Congress immediately has before it a bill granting similar powers, but twenty-two agencies are marked "don't touch."

Citizens, whose knowledge of civics, derived from school days, tells them of a separation of the executive and legislative functions, were probably bewildered by this. Newspaper readers, who are told by their papers that the executive branch is constantly encroaching on the legislative, were probably still further confused.

The fact is that Congress encroaches far more than the executive branch does. The President cannot order his own establishment without Congress' permission; and there are a score of executive agencies—many of them among the most important—that Congress considers directly responsible to it, and not to the President at all, except that he appoints their heads, with the approval of Congress.

The reason for this anomaly is that most of these "independent" agencies, while mainly executive, have "quasi-judicial" powers, and also wide, delegated, legislative functions. They cut across all three branches of the Government, and their decisions are now called "Administrative Law." Many political scientists believe that ultimately they will absorb most of the Government, thus ending the traditional separation of powers.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

THE GERMAN PEOPLE were powerless to overthrow the Hitler regime, Archbishop Groeber of Freiburg in Breisgau declares in a pastoral quoted in *Religious News Service*. "Those living amongst us know," the pastoral states, "that we have tried to the utmost, risking imprisonment and persecution; but the organized power of those in control was brutal and cunning, so tremendous that we Christians—and Catholics, particularly—could not think of revolution."

► The Sacred Heart radio program, "The Apostleship of Prayer," is broadcast over 160 stations in 36 States, Canada, Newfoundland, Alaska, Panama, Puerto Rico and Iraq. The broadcast is also carried direct to eleven Army and Navy general hospitals, two air bases and two of our fighting ships.

► An appeal to members of all faiths to help eliminate racial and religious prejudice was made by Archbishop Cushing of Boston at the eighth annual dinner of the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants and Jews on May 25. An international organization to preserve world peace, the Archbishop said, "must find support in a moral atmosphere, and this requires that we rid our hearts of enmity and hate

here at home and fill them with love of God and love of neighbor."

► The body of Bishop Challoner, famous for his revision of the Douay Bible, is soon to be transferred to the crypt of Westminster Cathedral. At present it lies in a Protestant churchyard at Milton, Berkshire, England, where it has remained since his death in 1781. After the transfer the possibility of beginning a diocesan process for the Bishop's beatification will be considered.

► Russia's apparent change of heart toward religion "can never be of her woof and warp as long as she remains committed to the principles of Karl Marx," Archbishop Downey of Liverpool writes in the *Liverpool Cathedral Record*. The attacks in the Moscow journals on the Catholic Church, he declared, are aimed fundamentally "at Christianity and religion in general for the simple reason that religion of any kind is incompatible with that dialectical materialism upon which Communism is based, and which regards religion as merely 'the opium of the masses.'"

LOUIS E. SULLIVAN

I WAS CHAPLAIN ON THE FRANKLIN

JOSEPH T. O'CALLAHAN, S.J.

PERHAPS only a Catholic audience can appreciate what was my attitude on March 19, the day the *Franklin* was hit. I know that many sympathetic and well-wishing people of the press and radio have admired what I did on that day, but did not understand.

I have said many times, and publicly, that from a mere natural viewpoint, it strikes me that we have to re-define the word "bravery." There was only one time in all that day's catastrophic happenings when I think I was brave. It was when I went into a blazing gun-turret, and the bravery came from this: I have long suffered from claustrophobia—I hate to be shut up in small, confining rooms. And I did not mind so much the thought of being blown up as the thought of being hemmed in in that small, closed place. I was overcoming a natural and rather silly phobia; no one would ever have adverted to it unless I had told it here. It was quite a stupid fear, and yet it is the only time I remember having to make an effort.

Everything else that happened that day seemed at the time, and seems now, simply to fit into the scheme of things, and by that I mean fit into a logical Catholic life. I think I had wits enough to realize that the chances were heavy at any moment that I would be blown to bits. There is a natural repugnance to that, as goes without saying; but without any effort my reactions were O.K.; I realized that even being blown to bits was simply—and I hope I say this without histrionics—the gateway to Heaven. I sincerely think that what I did anyone would do, if he takes Christ at face value.

WHAT MAKES HEROES?

People say what I did was brave. I claim that that definition of bravery is based on an inordinate love of life; I claim that it is much smarter to take God at His word that life hereafter is life. That's why I say—and I speak sincerely and humbly—we'd better re-define bravery.

I know I'm right about this, because I can speak not merely from my own personal reactions but from many examples that day of others reacting the same way. There was the youngster who saw the white Chaplain's Cross on my helmet and rushed over to me; he went down on one knee and, in a not-too-steady voice, asked me for Absolution. He said his Act of Contrition, I gave him Absolution, and then, because there was work to be done, I told him to go off and man one of the fire-fighting hoses where the danger seemed greatest. His response came with utter spontaneity: "Sure, Father, I'll go anywhere now."

There's another example, too, illustrating the same reaction. Somewhere in the mid-afternoon, when we had pushed the fires back considerably, but were still in a critical state, when a few minutes' delay meant hours of loss, and while we were still being strafed by another Jap plane, a young Filipino steward flopped down beside me on the deck. He had been gradually conquering his natural fear and lending a hand in the fire-fighting, but this strafing was the last straw, and he was on the verge of giving up. I've never seen, or expect to see, a person more completely frightened. In those few seconds, with the bullets splattering around us, I said the Act of Contrition with him—and I mean fervently—and gave him Absolution. The plane had zoomed away, and we were still alive. He was still flabby with fear, but he had got Absolution. Knowing that he could not de-

lay, I spoke rather sharply and ordered him back to the hoses. He went back. The fact that he did go back, though so ridden with fear, makes it clear to my mind that simply the fact that he was spiritually ready to die is the one thing that made him brave. In fact, it made him so brave that he led fifty others into the most dangerous fire-fighting. This boy is my example of real bravery. He was physically and psychologically un-nerved, but he worked and led because of a spiritual motive.

All these incidents—and there are many more—should illustrate the point I have tried time and again to make clear in my interviews and addresses but, I'm sorry to say, without much success so far. Many have heard me say this and looked politely and admiringly blank, but AMERICA's audience will certainly get it. If one is in a position where, without seeking death, one may die at any moment, there is no particular cause for alarm, because, through death, you meet Christ in Heaven.

There is another point I'd like to comment on. I've always suspected that many Catholics believe that they have a monopoly on virtue. Prior to my Navy life as Chaplain—and that extends over five years now—I had had little contact with non-Catholics. From my years of Navy life I am convinced that, through no credit to us, God has given the average American a more than average amount of natural virtue. I believe that the Americans of 1945 are not generally a religious people, but I'm convinced that they are a fundamentally virtuous people.

Perhaps this example from that terrible March 19 will show what I mean. There was a group of steward mates on board, and their reaction was even more striking than that of the Filipino boy whose story I have just told. These particular steward mates were Negroes, and every one of them who remained aboard (remember that many were blown overboard) did a really magnificent job. I know personally that each one of them was as frightened as the Filipino youngster, and remembrances rushed through my mind that day of the many cartoons I have seen, jokes I have heard, about how easily Negroes scare; but this group overcame their natural fear like real heroes.

SAGA OF THE TOWLINE

It was primarily due to their help that our Executive Officer was able to get a towline from the *Franklin* to the Cruiser *Pittsburgh*, which was standing by. That towline was a terrific weight. There the gang was, lined up shoulder-to-shoulder, officers and men, black and white, sweating and straining, and all afraid. The towline was not to be budged. I have read about things like this, and been rather blasé and skeptical, but there on the deck of the *Franklin* that afternoon, it really happened. All of a sudden, uncertainly and slowly at first, but gathering volume until it pierced the roar of flames, those Negro men started an impromptu chanting, making up the words as they went along. It was almost a Negro spiritual and, as the rhythm of their voices found certainty, the rhythm of the gang's muscles and sinews started to work together, and that heavy towline we hadn't been able to budge, started to move, how, God alone knows; but it was certainly the Negro stewards who led the way to a really superhuman job. All through the day, and most of the night, those Negro men worked magnificently on the deck, and very few people know that when the early morning of the 20th came a half dozen of them came with me below decks, a little more hesitant than I—and so more credit to them—foraging for food for the crew, groping in complete darkness in compartments that might well be a trap. They had worked all day and night as fire-fighters, in

an extreme emergency; when the fires were partially under control they sank once more, unobtrusively and simply, into their humble role of providing food.

A TORCH OF FAITH

I'm afraid that people reading this may think I'm holding up a torch—a torch of faith or idealism or some such thing. Well, I am. However, I think it is characteristically American to talk very seriously about serious things without taking oneself too seriously, and so I'll end by talking about a torch.

On that evening of March 19—it was the Feast of Saint Joseph, remember, and my own name-day, but there's another story connected with that which I would like to tell you later—on that March 19, the good ship *U.S.S. Franklin* was one big torch some thirty-eight miles off the coast of Japan. Fires were partially under control, but the ship was still a great bonfire. Now, according to wartime regulations, at sundown all lights are to be darkened; not even a cigarette may glow on the weather-deck. Just then, with a great puff of relief, Captain Gehres lit a cigarette. But his orderly was on the alert; "Begging the Captain's pardon, Sir, it's darkened ship—no cigarettes on the weather-deck."

Captain Gehres doused his butt.

COMMUNISTS TURN LEFT AGAIN

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

WELL, as everyone except the most mushy-headed "liberals" and the professional Soviet-appeasers anticipated, the Communist Party "line" is on the loose again. The Browderite honeymoon with Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and the American system of free enterprise is definitely over, a casualty of Marxist-Leninist dogma and Soviet foreign policy. Down at headquarters on East Twelfth Street in Manhattan, things are really popping and, between huge bites of "crow," the Comrades are trying to pick up the pieces and start life anew. There has been nothing funnier on the ideological front since Stalin and Molotoff embraced the late Adolph Hitler back in August, 1939.

As far as a mere outsider can judge, the divorce proceedings have been started because the American Communists, led by their ex-convict President, Earl Browder, stand guilty before the Marxist world of the heinous crime of heresy. This sad descent into the Soviet Hades appears to have begun in war-booming Bridgeport, Conn., on the evening of December 12, 1943, when Mr. Browder delivered himself of a speech. The theme that night was Teheran, Teheran, Teheran, and then again Teheran. Teheran, it seems, had changed everything, including Marxist-Leninist dogma. It meant the end of all efforts to communize American democracy in the immediate postwar period. It meant that all classes must henceforth work peacefully together within the framework of the capitalistic system. It meant that the Comrades—as Simeon Strunsky maliciously wrote in the *New York Times*—formerly busy with the class struggle must now turn their minds to the "multiplication table and memorizing the Gettysburg Address." It meant, in Mr. Browder's flamboyant words that "if J. P. Morgan supports this coalition (Anglo-Soviet-American) and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it."

For the embattled war-horses of Union Square this somer-

sault was hard to accomplish, but eventually most of them made it. On January 10, 1944, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party voted to recommend to the national convention scheduled for May that the Party be dissolved and that postwar political issues be decided "within the form of the two-party system traditional in our country." The committee suggested setting up "an association for political education," and indicated that the "American Communist Political Association" would be an appropriate name for it.

LENIN VS. TEHERAN

That night Mr. Browder, addressing a Communist rally at Madison Square Garden, broke the very un-revolutionary news to fifteen thousand of the faithful. It was not a happy gathering. The Comrades had assembled to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death, but as the evening wore on, it seemed that they were being asked to abandon the great Lenin for some vague place called Teheran. The following passage in Browder's speech was the bombshell:

It is my considered judgment that the American people are so ill prepared, subjectively, for any deep-going change in the direction of Socialism that postwar plans with such an aim would not unite the nation but would further divide it. And they would divide and weaken precisely the democratic and progressive camp, while they would unite and strengthen the most reactionary forces in the country. In their practical effect, they would help the anti-Teheran forces to come to power in the United States.

During the address a fair number of the Comrades walked out, unable to accept the betrayal of all they had lived and fought for. They could find nothing about Teheran and cooperation with capitalism in the gospel according to Marx. Mr. William Z. Foster, President of the Party, had a fearful struggle with his proletarian conscience, as did Secretary Darcy of the Eastern Pennsylvania district. In a secret meeting of the national committee, on February 8, Foster went after Browder tooth and nail but, of course, got nowhere and eventually toed the line. His submission was so abject that Browder actually made him chairman of a commission which found Darcy, who refused to stultify himself, guilty of "factionalism" and expelled him from the Party. After this minor disturbance had been quelled, it was a foregone conclusion that the national convention in May would do exactly what Browder told it to do. Eventually it did just that and, with the vision of Teheran before it, duly voted the Party out of existence. That was May 20, 1944.

Since that time the Communists have been the most patriotic of Americans. They have said nice things about the National Association of Manufacturers. They have worked hand-in-glove with employers to expedite war production. They have made CIO President Philip Murray's job doubly difficult by posing as the great champions of labor's no-strike pledge. They have advocated the hated speedup and approved national-service legislation. So outstanding has been their devotion to the country that the Army reversed a long tradition and handed out commissions to some of the Comrades. Here and there people really began to wonder whether the leopard could change its spots.

THE BLOW FALLS

And then the blow fell, not in New York or Washington, but in faraway Paris. In the April issue of *Cahiers du Communisme*, Jacques Duclos, one of the Fuehrers of the French Communist Party, raised the dreaded charge of heresy against Earl Browder. In a detailed, 8,000-word analysis of the developments described above, Duclos charged that the Ameri-

can leader had drawn from the Teheran Conference "erroneous conclusions in no wise flowing from a Marxist analysis of the situation." He accused Browder of making himself "the protagonist of a false concept of the ways of social evolution in general, and in the first place, the social evolution of the United States." If Comrade Browder had known his Marxist-Leninist ABC's, he explained, pulling no punches, "he would have arrived at a conclusion quite other than the dissolution of the Communist Party of the U. S."

This stinging blast Editor Earl Browder, setting a new low for scraping servility among "freedom-loving" peoples, dutifully printed in the May 24 issue of the *Daily Worker*, appending to it a foreword from his own pen.

The Editor explains to the faithful that it has been difficult these past few years to counsel with Marxists of other countries on the many involved questions which have arisen since the outbreak of war. The article of Duclos reflects European criticism of the trend of American Communism and "thus demands our most respectful consideration." Consequently, "we must make the most careful inventory, balance our political books, and know clearly how we stand as we enter a new period of sharpening struggles, crisis and profound changes."

Daily Worker readers are assured that "within the framework of the Communist Political Association organization, and according to its rules, the discussion initiated by the publication of Duclos' article will be free in the fullest sense." (Italics supplied). This discussion will take place among the members of the National Board and the National Committee. Accordingly, Browder advises, explaining what is meant by free discussion according to the rules, "let no one speculate on the conclusions of the discussion before they have been registered"! It is a "testing time," he concludes, without cracking a smile, "for the integrity, understanding and maturity of the CPA and of each member." And how!

A FEW QUESTIONS

This new development suggests some intriguing questions which ought to be of interest to every American. The following is not intended to be an exhaustive list but it can serve as a beginning:

1. Was the Comintern really dissolved in 1943? Or, if it was, has it now been re-established? It seems incredible that an article in a French Communist publication should have had such immediate repercussions over here *unless that article was inspired by Moscow*. Duclos shares with Maurice Thorez the leadership of the French Communist Party, and Thorez, who, after betraying France, sat out the war in Russia, is known to have the confidence of Stalin. Some of my Socialist acquaintances have no doubt at all that the Kremlin, not Duclos, is cracking the whip.

2. Was the declaration of independence whereby the American Communists allegedly severed their connection with the Communist International in 1940 as phony as now appears to be the case? If not, how explain the instant obedience of the Browderites to a directive from abroad? The Department of Justice will be interested in this aspect of the case since under our law foreign agents are forced to register as such with the State Department.

3. What will be the effects of this change on the American labor movement, and especially on the CIO? Beginning with the Philadelphia Convention in 1943, the Commies have preached unity and, with a few recent exceptions, supported national CIO policy. Before the meeting at Philadelphia, there was some talk of ousting James Carey as CIO Secretary, but nothing came of it. Disappointed that a fight

had failed to develop, one Right-wing delegate, I recall, disgustingly snorted that the convention recalled unexciting days in the AFL. Will the coming shift in the Party line force the Commies into an open break with President Philip Murray and his Right-wing supporters? And in that event will the AFL, augmented by the powerful John L. Lewis, seize the occasion to try to end the dualism in American labor?

4. One wonders, too, what will happen to the congenial relations that exist between Communist labor leaders and certain American industrialists. These latter have been so delighted with Leftist cooperation during the war that in some cases they have preferred to deal with Communists rather than with patriotic American labor leaders. If the Browderites start some old-fashioned revolutionary activity, these industrialists are going to regret their opportunism.

5. Already the upheaval in East Twelfth Street has affected the 1945 Mayoralty race in New York City. The Labor Party, which acts locally for the CIO Political Action Committee, is prepared to support Brooklyn's District Attorney, Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, in the event that he receives the Democratic nomination. So far, the Democratic organization in the Bronx has been cool to the O'Dwyer candidacy, supposedly because of some obscure connection between Mr. O'Dwyer and politically ambitious Michael Quill, City Councilman, President of the Transport Workers (CIO) and notorious Communist Party-liner. Mr. O'Dwyer will probably be nominated but only after an explicit disavowal of Communist support. Even then the anti-Browderite Liberal Party will probably not support him.

OTHER POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

What will happen ultimately to the Labor Party is the subject of talk all over town. Sidney Hillman and his Amalgamated Clothing Workers control the State machinery, but the city organization is largely dominated by Leftist CIO unions responsive to Communist direction. It is unlikely that Mr. Hillman will quit without a fight, and he is said to control 150,000 of the Party's 194,000 registered members. But the Communist minority is strictly disciplined and, with fellows like Mike Quill and Congressman Vito Marcantonio around, can count on colorful and popular leadership. Will the Right-wing CIO unions in New York join forces with Mr. Hillman and push the Commies out? Or will the American Labor Party become in fact, if not in name, the Communist Party of the United States?

The same sort of situation exists in the New York CIO, the State organization being controlled by the Right wing, the New York City Industrial Council by the Left wing. In fact, with the exception of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the City CIO is composed exclusively of Communist-controlled unions. About two months ago, due to his political cooperation with these unions in PAC activities, Mr. Hillman affiliated with the City CIO. What is not so well known is that all the locals composing the Joint Board—about 40,000 members—never went along with this deal. If the new Party Line forces a split in the CIO, it is not unlikely that these locals, together with other Right-wing unions, will enter the City CIO and try to take it away from the Commies.

These are some of the questions that come readily to mind. Another development seems to admit of no speculation whatsoever: from now on the Browderites will work to sabotage American foreign policy. They are apparently convinced that Teheran has been scuttled and that President Truman cannot be trusted to give Stalin a free hand in Europe and Asia. Maybe that is the real reason for the Duclos article.

RUSSIA CHALLENGES THE ALLIED CONSCIENCE

JOHN LaFARGE

IN THE MINDS, not of Red-baiters, but of genuinely liberal and democratic-minded persons throughout the country, a question appears to be steadily shaping up. Are we faced with the dilemma, either to appease Russia—moving, or being driven, from concession to concession—or else resort to war?

We had to ask ourselves that question with regard to Hitler; must the same be raised again when we see the spread of Russian domination through Eastern Europe, or turn to the Far East and study what is happening in Outer Mongolia, or China itself?

The crisis which arose with regard to Marshal Tito's occupation of Trieste by Yugoslav forces has passed for the time being, thanks to the firm, energetic stand of General Harold Alexander. He has insisted that the final disposition of this critical area must be left, as was solemnly agreed upon, to the final peace settlements. In the meantime, he has agreed upon what appears like a practical compromise in the difficult local conditions.

But the larger situation still remains. No explanation is yet at hand of the arrest by Moscow of the sixteen leaders of the Polish underground. Inquiries made concerning this at San Francisco were brushed aside by D. Z. Manuilsky, the Old Bolshevik delegate from the Ukraine, as mere "Goebbels propaganda." And no protests avail to save the peoples of the Baltic nations who are being deported from their homelands to the interior of Russia or to Siberia.

If we wish to yield to a sort of moral paralysis and let ourselves be fascinated by the whirlpool that would seem to draw us on, we can easily let this terrible dilemma become a reality. But moral paralysis is not the policy either of our Church or of our country. If concessions made to Russia are a cause of alarm, concessions already made by Russia, while they may be but slight, temporary and from mere expediency, cause us still to do some careful appraising of Russia's strength and weakness and our own, before jumping to any final conclusions.

Russia has two sources of tremendous, undeniable strength. The first is the power of the Red Army, which is now flushed with the magnificence of its European victory and resentful of peace.

Russia's other principal source of strength is promptness and aggressiveness, as a political agency, in assuming immediate and effective governmental control where such control is needed, and in providing "moral leadership" on a wide and appealing scale. In the colonial world, with the backward or oppressed peoples, she offers a specious "moral leadership" which I discussed in a preceding article (AMERICA, May 26, 1945). In the liberated countries she has, with varying success, attempted to seize the appeal of the Resistance movements. When, as in Yugoslavia and other countries of Eastern Europe, she can join the Pan-Slavic appeal to that of the moral claims of the Resistance movement, Russia's success is greatest.

As a curb on Russia's ambitions, whatever they may or may not be, there undoubtedly exists first of all America's own tremendous military and naval might, combined with our incredible and as yet not fully gauged productive capacity. Furthermore, there has appeared unexpectedly at San Francisco the rapidly increasing force of public opinion in the western nations. The unanimity of the Latin-American

nations in support of their right to self-defense and of their own juridical agreements has caused the Russian delegates at San Francisco more surprises than they are willing to admit. Not even the Red Army nor the vast network of Soviet politics can ignore the power of a unified world opinion when that opinion is made articulate at an early stage in the proceedings, and when it functions continually through a world organization in which the Russians themselves take part.

The success of the Soviet government in organizing its puppet regimes and its propaganda in regions which have proved favorable to its plan cause us to forget that most of these successes were gained not so much because of inherent Russian strength but because of the weakness, political, social or ideological, of the countries in which the Moscow methods have triumphed.

Political chaos and physical starvation are the mightiest arms of Communism in Europe today. In this country, as in many others, another wave of general unemployment would spell the mightiest Red danger.

If we can provide sound government and some measure of rehabilitation for Europe, and if we can solve our own basic social problems, we shall have less occasion either to appease or to go to war with Russia. If our own Western house is in order, which means a genuinely democratic, not a phony or totalitarian order; if we keep Russia in active, constant contact but do not permit any questions of fundamental justice to remain permanently unsolved or unadjusted; and finally, if we keep our religion in the first place in public as in private affairs, even so we shall not have an easy time with Russia. "Firm, fair realism" is a mild expression for what is called for by the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. Strong cards must be played, and "close to the chest." But before we allow ourselves to be driven into the ultimate of an open alliance against Russia, we need to appraise still more clearly the strength and weakness of Russian propaganda. This matter I hope to take up in a future article.

BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

E. M. VOYTA

EXCEPT FOR AUSTRIA there is no other country in Europe to which the term Central Europe applies more correctly than to Czecho-Slovakia. The old kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia, so often in the foreground of European history since the early Middle Ages, and Slovakia, the country that joined them after the first World War, are really the center and the heart of the Continent.

Although it received Christianity from Byzantium, through Saints Cyril and Methodius, the Czech nation changed from the Eastern Rite to the Latin Rite as early as the first half of the tenth century, and since then has belonged thoroughly to Western Europe, by religion, culture and all the traditions of life. The kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia were a leading center of Catholic culture in the fourteenth century. Later, through Hussitism and the Reformation and the return to Catholicism in the seventeenth century, they became more and more a part of the Western world; there was no problem of Western European culture that did not touch the soil of Bohemia; there was not one idea or one movement of western civilization that had not crossed the boundaries of Bohemia.

Following the natural and traditional ties with the West, the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, as it was founded after the

first World War, was oriented thoroughly towards Western Europe, not only by her cultural traditions but also by her political and military ties. The political alliance with France, the defense system of the Little Entente centered on France, was only one side of the deep friendship and confidence the Czech people felt towards France in general. There was no other country in Europe where France seemed culturally so near and was held in such esteem as in Czecho-Slovakia. After the Munich agreement, which for Czecho-Slovakia meant the collapse of the defense system based on France, Czecho-Slovakia felt betrayed by her Western Allies. There is no secret about the bitterness President Benes felt towards Western Europe since the Munich days, and we shall not err in guessing that his new orientation towards Russia was caused by his disillusionment over the Munich agreement.

After having started a project of federation with Poland in 1941, Dr. Benes suddenly dropped all negotiations with Poland, and soon it was evident that this change was due to the pressure of the Soviet Government, which already at this time not only did not want any federation of European States, but had quite different plans for the small neighboring nations.

Since the abandonment of this plan of a federation in Europe, it has been evident that Dr. Benes will follow Moscow's leadership. It can be said without hesitation that the Czecho-Slovak Government-in-Exile has accepted the leadership of Moscow freely and voluntarily. The Czecho-Slovak Government-in-Exile became the full ally of Moscow by the pact signed in Moscow last year, and when Dr. Benes went back to the part of Czecho-Slovakia liberated by the Russians, he went by way of Moscow. The new provisional government he set up in Kosice was the result of consultations in Moscow conducted, it seems, very much under the pressure of the Czech Communist group there. For although it was ignored by the American Press, even Czecho-Slovakia had her own Moscow group, a distinctly Communistic council, headed by the Czech Communist leader, Klement Gottward, and the intellectual leader of Czech Communists, Professor Zdenek Nejedly. The difference between the Czech committee in Moscow and the Polish group there was that the Czech Government-in-Exile was in complete agreement with the Czech Communist group in Moscow with respect to the Russian orientation.

When we look at the names of the men who form the first provisional government of Czecho-Slovakia, we see in them an indication of the strong position the Czech group in Moscow has gained over the democrats. All the leading Communists are in the new government—Klement Gottward, Professor Nejedly, Dr. Clementis, Václav Nosek, Václav Kopecky. Zdenek Nejedly, the brilliant professor of the Music Academy in Prague and the vice-president of the All-Slav Congress, is Minister of the Board of Education, certainly an alarming fact in view of Nejedly's outspoken Communistic views on religion and education. The whole government is composed of six Communists, five Social Democrats, three Socialists, two members of the Catholic Party and three without a party affiliation.

The Agrarian Party, once very powerful, was dissolved under pressure of the Communists. The present government is pledged to carry out free elections for a constitutional assembly that will write a new constitution. So not only does the affiliation with Russia bring about a new foreign policy, but an inner change is being prepared for the new Republic. As the old constitution of the Republic was democratic, progressive and almost ideal, one may wonder why a democratic country wants to make a change. The voluntary adaptation to a new powerful neighbor (during the

long Czech history Russia was never a direct neighbor, but will be now after she annexes Eastern Poland) and the free acceptance of Moscow leadership by both Czech groups in exile in the absence of any consent from the Czech people at home, who cannot express themselves, are a fact without parallel in history and a terrible responsibility for those who decided it.

We cannot foretell the future. We cannot know to what extent Russia will back the Czech and Slovak Communists; we cannot know the plans Russia has for her new ally. We cannot know how much the direct political and cultural influence of Communist Russia will impress its mark on the cultural life of Czecho-Slovakia. We can only hope that the Czech people, often called the most democratic, most progressive, most freedom-loving of all Slav peoples, will not abandon its most democratic and Christian heritage. The glorious past of the Czech people makes us hope for a victory for democratic and Christian principles in Czecho-Slovakia. Czech and Slovak Catholics have often proved their vitality and their fidelity to Rome; theirs will now be the great task of defending that Catholic heritage.

Whatever may be the future developments, there are indications of strong pressure from Czech Communists and certain signs of likes and dislikes towards some Czech leaders on the part of Moscow. It surprised no one when Jan Masaryk (on a visit in Moscow with Dr. Benes) was refused an audience with Stalin. Jan Masaryk, most popular of Czech exile leaders and son of the first president of Czecho-Slovakia, T. G. Masaryk, is a man of distinctly democratic principles and one who does not lack courage. When interviewed by *Time* magazine on his opinions as to Pan-Slavism, Masaryk replied: "I am first a European and then a Slav." These are words which are not liked in Moscow. The wave of a strong new Pan-Slavism launched by Russia goes through all Slav lands; and the idea of Europe as symbol of a unity of nations is to the new Pan-Slavists only a shadow of the past. Still deeply rooted in the culture of Western Europe, Czecho-Slovakia will have to face the storm of a new Pan-Slavistic propaganda bringing contempt upon many of the old Western European ideals and menacing many of her ancient traditions.

"THERE IS NO LAW . . ."

RAYMOND C. JANCAUSKAS

WHAT IS DRIVING the Government into control of business? If you say it is the power-mania of the men in the Government, your neighbor gives you a wary, sympathetic look. He braces himself for a blast at the OPA, the draft system or the income-tax board. But if you say that the Government is being driven into business because of the greed and selfishness of the citizens, he will be taken aback for a moment. Yet that is where much of the blame should rest. Senator O'Mahoney proved this to the hilt as far as the insurance business was concerned in the March 31 issue of *AMERICA*. What few people realize, however, is how typical this government intervention has been, especially in its underlying reasons.

For example, what brought the Interstate Commerce Commission into existence in 1887 to regulate the railroads? Excessive rail rates for farm goods, rebates, price discrimination between long and short hauls, free passes to politicians, pooling of traffic and income by sham competitors, and other price-pegging practices. Why was this law not the last? Because dishonesty sluiced through legal loopholes. Law after

law plugged the gaps. Now the railroads have Federal control over accounting, service, security-issuance and railroad combinations.

What was the reason for the Federal Trade Commission? Watered stock, promoters' cuts, market-sharing, local price-cutting, patent-killing, price-leadership. Why did we need more regulation in 1914? Because of discrimination in prices, tying contracts, exclusive-dealing agreements, interlocking directorates. Then why more regulation in 1938? Widespread false advertising, misbranding, spying for trade secrets, bribing of employees and buyers to get customers.

How did security-issuance and sales happen to come under the Securities Exchange Commission? Because the depression disclosed many questionable practices. Insiders were profiting from confidential knowledge. Some ruined one business to rake off profits in another. Important information was withheld from the public; some companies could boast of giving no financial statement for a quarter of a century. Poor issues were foisted on unsuspecting, but hopeful, "lambs"; false "tips" spread widely. Brokers were really dealers in some transactions, or played "hunches" with other people's money.

Recall the infamous failure of Richard Whitney and Company, a brokerage house, in 1938. It led *directly* to several new rules for brokers that took privacy out of the brokerage business. The members now have to give regular financial statements; they cannot rely on character in their loans to other members; they cannot borrow beyond a certain limit. An honest broker may well complain.

Why was the SEC put in control of public-utility holding companies in 1935 by one of the most thorough and aggressive regulatory statutes ever passed? Because of lush salaries, fancy write-ups of capital values, forced loans from subsidiary companies, excessive fees for services given by or to affiliated companies.

The Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921 is only a very severe version of the Clayton Act. How explain this special treatment of monopolistic practices in one industry? Briefly, the packing companies lost an anti-trust case in 1905; they had used almost every shady business trick on the books. In 1919, the FTC found that most of the practices forbidden in 1905 still thrived; only now, the packers had stretched their control to stockyards and the marketing of eggs, dairy products and vegetable-oil compounds. Result: a Federal law and more power for the Secretary of Agriculture.

Farm legislation was based largely on the plea that farming was an island of competition in a sea of monopoly. Yet, when the Federal Farm Board advised production-control in 1930, nobody seemed to listen. So we got the AAA. Many farmers were shocked when government inspectors came to see what was planted and how much.

Investment trusts came under close government regulation in 1940 partly *at their own request*. It seems that some trusts carried on as if the stock exchange were a giant casino; other trusts were used by investment banks or brokerage houses for unloading poor securities; others falsified earnings by paying dividends out of capital or by failing to build reserves. The good investment trusts knew of no other way to win public confidence than by asking the Government to step in.

The labor field shows the same law of regulation development. The plodding lawmakers finally catch up with the evils. From the Massachusetts and Connecticut laws of 1842, which limited children below twelve to ten hours of work per day, we have come to such laws as the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the NLRA, the FEPC law and other social-security legislation. And if Sewell Avery wins in the Supreme Court, a tighter, precedent-establishing law will be passed.

We might have anti-labor laws by the same token. All we need are more "quickie" strikes, "make-work" rules and labor bosses. Just let the Congressmen get mad as Petrillo got them mad when he refused recently to appear at the hearings of the House Interstate Commerce Committee. To quote one vexed Solon: "This fellow has gone too far. We've got to clip his wings." Though he added: "We don't want to interfere with the legitimate functions of a union," it seems that labor should be aware of the possibility of another law in the future. The good unions will moan—just as the good business men, the good stock brokers, the good farmers did.

It is a good bet, too, that we shall have Federal regulation of oil production soon. There was some self-regulation before 1933, but the goal seemed to be price-pegging instead of oil conservation. The Interstate Oil Compact (1935) planned to allot production in oil-producing States. However, Illinois, with ten per cent of national production in 1940, chose to play the rugged individualist. Naturally, the crude-oil price kept falling till it was stopped by the war. But why frown on Illinois for not passing a law? The Temporary National Economic Committee Hearings in 1939 brought out the fact that the Texas law did not stop "hot oil" shipments from that state—over 104 million barrels of it. So Harold D. Koontz, in his *Government Control of Business*, concludes: "Enlarged Federal control seems to be inevitable in the oil industry."

Can we say, then, that the trend toward collectivism is a blind grasp for power? Wherever we dig into legal or historical archives, even in pre-New-Deal times, we find the same story: a welter of abuses, some laws, evasion of these laws, a Federal law.

Unfortunately, we do not find the end of the story. Even when the Government forbids interlocking directorates, "dummy" directors turn the trick. When it stops insiders from playing the stock market, their friends rally round. When it forbids collusion on prices, the competitors feel safer—and usually are—in merging. Regulation seems to have reached the end of its tether. Government-owned "yardstick" industries are the next logical development.

The coming of collectivism, then, is not impossible. For the alternative to excessive regulation is honest, above-board dealing among citizens, self-regulation of industry and a continual care for the common good. But there always seem to be enough citizens who try to get away with something, or hide behind the lame plea: "There is no law. . . ." So we get a law. And since "moral regeneration" is considered a vague, impractical remark, circulating in unrealistic ecclesiastical circles, who can tell how long men will have hope in laws?

WHO'S WHO

REV. JOSEPH T. O'CALLAHAN, S.J., needs no introduction to AMERICA readers—or any others. However, some facts of his background may not be so well known as his heroic record as Chaplain of the *Franklin*. A native of Cambridge, Mass., he attended Boston College High School, entered the Society of Jesus in 1922, was ordained in 1935. After finishing special studies in Mathematics at Georgetown University in 1939, he entered the Navy and taught navigation at Pensacola until placed on active duty, which included the whole North-African invasion.

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REPORT ON UNCIO

THE REPORT of the Chairman of the American Delegation at the San Francisco Conference has given the American public its first chance to evaluate the Charter it will soon be asked to accept. With the comprehensive report on progress presented to the people in his radio address on May 28, Mr. Stettinius has provided the initial impetus for full public discussion and analysis of the new world order which the United States has taken the lead in shaping, and in which, please God, she will continue to provide leadership.

Fundamental to the understanding of the work already done or to be accomplished at San Francisco is the reminder which the Secretary of State left with us at the close of his address. It is that "there is no such thing as complete freedom of decision for any nation." Our foreign policy cannot be conducted by completely ignoring the fact that we are only one nation among many. What has come out of San Francisco to date is not American, any more than it is British, or Russian, or Chinese or French. But it is far more American than any decisions that would be reached by Chaos.

When the question is put, at no far distant date, whether the United States should ratify the treaty by which we join the world organization, our people should remember that the decision is only apparent. There is no choice. For there is no alternative worth thinking of.

But if the charter, as it stands, is not a uniquely American document, it is a charter which adequately protects American interests. Although much ink and perspiration have been spilled over the question of the veto possessed by the five permanent members of the Security Council, the basic reality remains that this veto is a protection for the United States. It is true that from the viewpoint of equality the right of veto is a serious defect. We have sworn to pursue the aggressor to the ends of the earth. In our declarations of war aims we stated flatly our intention to make aggression impossible, anywhere in the world, by anyone. Yet the five permanent members remain immune from coercive action. If they choose to embark on a career of aggression they possess a veto which will paralyze collective action. The organization then takes on the nature of an alliance to prevent small wars but not big wars.

To this grave objection Mr. Stettinius has given the only possible reply:

What happens if one of the five permanent members embarks upon a course of aggression and refuses to recognize the machinery of the world organization? . . . In such an event, the answer is simple. Another World War has come, veto or no veto, and the World Organization has failed.

The reassurance offered by the Secretary of State is that such a contingency is not what the sponsoring powers have come here to contemplate. "They have come to San Francisco with the other United Nations to form an organization for peace—not to conspire for war."

The radio address was in a certain sense a "political" speech. It was meant to assure the people that the work being done gives solid promise that the hopes they have conceived for a postwar world of peace and security are in a fair way of being realized. But far more than that, it was a speech calculated to allay fears that might be exploited by opponents of international collaboration when the Charter comes up before the Senate for ratification. In this connection observers note the disclaimers that the trusteeship system emerging from the Conference will in any way jeopardize American security in the Pacific. In fact, Commander Harold Stassen on the Trusteeship Committee has

been able to reassure the Navy that we can fully safeguard the control by the United States—"within the trusteeship system, but on conditions satisfactory to us"—of those strategic points in the Pacific which are necessary for the defense of the United States. Later on we may have cause to regret our tactics and policy at UNCIO in this respect. Meanwhile the ground is cut from under the feet of those Senators who may allege that the Charter deprives us of island bases necessary for our security.

Another political hurdle nimbly leaped over by Mr. Stettinius was his reassurance that the Social and Economic Council is merely a coordinating and recommendatory agency. It "cannot interfere with the domestic affairs of any member nation."

It was clear from the address of May 28, giving the resumé of the work of UNCIO, that predominant consideration was given to the task now looming larger on the horizon—to get the Charter through the Senate. Many questions still remain in the minds of the general public. They will want further assurance as the weeks go on that the world organization will in truth serve as the instrument of a democratic world peace, with justice and law. But the evidence presented by the Secretary of State is already very compelling. We await a further report by the Chairman of our Delegation.

HUMAN RECONVERSION

WITH THE reconversion legislation passed by the Seventy-Eighth Congress, businessmen and farmers, for easily understandable reasons, were generally satisfied. This was not true of the workers, who felt that Congress had callously disregarded the human side of reconversion. When this legislation was being discussed, the AFL and CIO joined hands to fight for liberalized unemployment benefits during the reconversion period. They argued that, without some added security, war workers would be tempted to leave their jobs and seek employment in peace-time industries. And they pointed out that under existing systems of unemployment insurance more than ten million non-agricultural workers had no protection whatsoever. The Seventy-Eighth Congress, however, which was dominated by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, remained unimpressed and did very little for the soldiers of production.

Since that time events have shown the short-sightedness of this policy. There is today a great deal of unrest among the workers, and much of it arises from a feeling of insecurity about the future. With the fighting over in Europe, many war contracts are being canceled and plants are resuming peace-time production. Like other groups in the community, workers want to do their patriotic duty, and they know that until the war in the Pacific is over they must stay on their jobs. But they must think of the future, too, of V-J Day and the wholesale termination of war contracts, of reconversion and the weeks and months of waiting until factories are retooled and ready to work. Obviously, many of them are sorely tempted to look around now for a job that will not end with hostilities. It was partly for this reason that the Army wanted legislation—the May-Bailey bill—freezing workers in their jobs. While the present Congress refused to pass that bill, it has done nothing at all to remove the causes which seemed to make it necessary.

It is this log-jam that President Truman now wants to

break. Last week he asked Congress for special legislation to broaden unemployment compensation during the reconversion period. He wants coverage extended to the 13 million workers—in Navy yards, arsenals, on ships, in Government offices—who are without any protection at all. He wants the maximum rates under State laws raised by Federal subsidy from \$15 and \$18 a week to \$25. And he wants the period of payment extended in all cases to 26 weeks. Since these are the same provisions which Congress refused to insert in reconversion legislation last year, the President's request is certain to meet with determined opposition. It may even mark the end of President Truman's honeymoon with Capitol Hill.

THE VETO POWER

BEFORE ENTERING INTO a discussion of the veto power to be accorded to the Big Five on the Security Council, it would be very salutary for each of us to ask himself this direct question: Should the United States be obligated to use its armed forces in the settlement of a dispute between two other states, even though the Congress and the President are opposed to such action? To answer No to this question is to ask for an American veto on enforcement measures by the Security Council. And we may as well recognize, with Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, writing in the *New York Times* for May 30, that

... one reason for insisting on the veto is that the United States would be the last to ratify a charter that did not contain the saving clause.

Russia, in a word, is not the only Power which insists on the veto.

The development of the debate reflects to a certain extent the progress of world opinion regarding a true juridical order—the order of real international law, to which every nation, large or small, would be equally subject. The smaller nations are, in general, opposed to the veto. They have found by tragic experience that good intentions and good behavior are not enough to keep them out of a modern war. They have learned, the hard way, that their only salvation is in a true international law. The great Powers, however, seem not yet convinced. Their very greatness and their very power incline them to rely, in the last analysis, upon their own strength to defend what they feel to be their essential interests. Seeing the advantages of international law, they are not yet ready to accept its possible disadvantages, and would like to keep open an avenue of escape from it. They would like to eat their cake and have it.

As of the present, it seems that the small Powers will gain the right to open discussion of all international occurrences that seem to threaten the peace. But action upon these occurrences will be subject to veto by any one of the Big Five. This is an advance, slight though it be, from the first proposals, which would have enabled one of the Big Five to stifle even the discussion of what was going on in the world. That we shall get more than this seems practically impossible just now.

It remains for the smaller nations, through the discussions of the Assembly, to try to convince even the great Powers that their most essential interest is peace, and that the only realistic approach to peace is through justice and the rule of law.

SOCIAL-SECURITY BILL

THE 1945 version of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, introduced into Congress last week, will, if passed, bear intimately upon the lives of every man, woman and child in the United States.

The bill divides itself roughly into two parts. The first part contains provisions for Federal grants, out of the general revenues, to aid the States in a national program of construction, improvement, expansion and operation of better and more widely available health facilities—such as hospitals and community health centers and welfare services—and a more comprehensive program to assist needy individuals such as the aged, the blind and dependent children. The general provision of the bill is that these grants be made on a 50-50 matching basis with the States, though there is a special allowance for States with small per capita income. In this first part we may also include the proposal to continue the present National Employment Service under Federal auspices.

The second part of the bill—Section 9—contains the proposed new National Social Insurance System. Over against the old Social Security Law we find here a much wider coverage (15 million farm workers, independent farmers, domestic employes, employes of non-profit institutions, professional persons and small business men), a notable increase in disability, unemployment, survivors' and retirement allowances, and a more expansive health-insurance program. In this last, every allowance is made for the free and untrammelled participation of hospitals, doctors, dentists and nurses under their present methods and "to the maximum extent possible" under State and local administration. Finally, there is an altogether new provision for "wage credits"—an insurance fund of \$160 per month for men and women in the armed forces for the entire period of their service. Except for this final provision, the National Social Insurance System is to be supported by an 8 per cent deduction from the general income—4 per cent each from employers and employes—plus whatever Federal subsidies prove necessary in the course of the years.

Opponents of the bill can make out a strong case. First, the theory of the Welfare State is repugnant to all who envision and strive for an organic, coordinated social and economic system such as is outlined in *Quadragesimo Anno*. The famous principle of subsidiarity is apparently overridden; and it will be charged, despite the bill's provisions for local administration, that tremendous new powers are being concentrated in Washington. Secondly, many economists will be dubious over the capacity of the country to assume this new and unprecedented burden by the method outlined in the bill. The danger is that the attempt will create greater havoc in the economy, and will threaten national morale more than the conditions it proposes to alleviate.

Supporters of the bill, however, can justly claim that an extension of adequate medical and welfare services to all our people, and a comprehensive national social-insurance system are, on the one hand, imperative if we are to avoid a postwar disaster more catastrophic than the '29-'32 debacle and, on the other hand, are impossible to achieve without Federal organization and support.

Now that the bill has been introduced, we hope that the whole matter will be thoroughly aired and discussed, and that the essential aims of the bill will eventually be realized without endangering either our economy or the fundamental political safeguards beside the loss of which almost any disaster will appear insignificant.

LITERATURE AND ART

SUPERMAN GRABS CHANCE TO TEACH GRAMMAR

R. SOUTHARD

AM I FOOLING? Far from it! I learn this from a headline in a junior-high-school paper. Superman, the comic character created by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster, is the feature of a vocabulary school workbook now in use at Lynn, Massachusetts. Superman promoters plan to distribute similar Superman workbooks in history, geography, social sciences and other subjects. The Lynn experiment is the first step in a thorough and persistent campaign to instal Superman workbooks in every public school in the country.

All public-school projects are of concern to American Catholics, if for no other reasons than that they are patriotic Americans and their taxes help support America's public schools. The Superman schoolbook project concerns Catholics in a very special way because it involves educational ideals affecting thousands of Catholic teachers and three million Catholic children in public schools.

The specific ideal in question is the ideal of Christ Himself as the all-round hero in a child's scheme of values. The charge is that the Superman schoolbook program amounts to teaching children an ideal which is inimical to the Christian ideal—Christ. The synthetic Superman pattern of heroism tends to distort the proper concept of Christian heroism, besides displacing and discrediting the traditional Christian heroes and saints.

This is a serious charge. Those who are directly sponsoring the Superman schoolbook project will honestly disavow either intending or actually engineering any such anti-Christian program. Their intentions are not the point in question. Our concern is this—anything taught as an all-round ideal in America's schools should be wholly unobjectionable on the score of Christian idealism. Superman is not.

The validity of this charge is not at once apparent because the synthesis of heroism symbolized by Superman is a very clever counterfeit. Christ warned us: "False Christs and false prophets shall arise and shall show signs and wonders to seduce even the elect." He tells us that these false Christs will appear in sheep's clothing—as benefactors, humanitarians, public saviors. Fair is foul and foul is fair! In the scheme of diabolical providence it matters little what means be employed against Christ and His principles, in children's comic books or elsewhere. It is to be expected that the Devil's maneuvers will involve impressive, even well wishing promoters, and tools that are attractive. Else how deceive? Confidence on the part of the victim is the first requisite for the "confidence" man. The indispensable feature of counterfeit cash is that it look like the real thing.

The Superman school plan is backed by an imposing roster of "experts." This array of names serves to build parental confidence in Superman as a prize pedagogic device. According to these experts, Superman is "The good as opposed to the bad, the right as opposed to the wrong; he is justice for the oppressed of all walks of life. As Clark Kent [Superman in private, without the cape and the capers], Superman represents all that modern American youth ever hoped to be, physically, mentally, morally and spiritually. . . ."

For their part, Siegel and Shuster run their comic creature true to prefabricated form in every strip. He is ever after

crooks and gangsters. This crusading program looks like Christian charity. So Superman, on the score of righteousness, looks like the real, all-round ideal, Jesus Christ. What with the board of "experts" to reassure anxious parents and teachers, Superman is a safe bet for "first" as the schoolroom ideal for America's children. Unless parents and teachers take after this matter, the promoters of this project will have their way. In that event here are some of the false ideals which the Superman symbol is bound to convey to American youth. All are inimical to the ideals of Christ.

First, the notion that the use of brute force is preferable to the use of reason. It is wishful thinking to hope that impressionable children will not get this idea merely from being taught in school to admire the bulging muscles and bull neck of Superman.

Second, the idea that force-methods are justice's first-line tactics. What else can children conclude from Superman's riotous routine—ever smashing doors and automobiles and buildings?

Third, the persuasion that a person such as Superman actually exists, or at least will someday exist in this world. "We have a good deal of respect for F. D., but Mr. Roosevelt can't leap a thousand feet into the air and down a war-plane with his bare fists. Superman can," elucidated one of the Superman apologists. And if you think it impossible for a child to harbor the persuasion that Superman is a reality, collar a young Superman addict and quiz him.

Promoters of Superman cleverly encourage the illusion that their comic character is a real person. They feature him on posters selling war bonds and suggesting books for children to read. "I warn you not to use slot machines," he says in the school workbook. In the Superman comic books other fantastic characters are brought into being and then annihilated—but never Superman. Consequent on this dangerous illusion are case records of children injured or killed by jumping from windows and trying to stop trains—like Superman.

Fourth, the impression that high morality is possible even though divorced from religious belief or prayer. Superman is heralded by his promoters as the successor to the pagan deities and heroes—Hector, Hercules, Achilles and the rest. He hails from the planet "Krypton" where, of course, Christ has never been heard of.

Fifth, the belief that sensationalism—fanfare, capes, battles with gangsters—is indispensable to real heroism. Superman heroics are always headline heroics.

An ultimate consequence of Superman indoctrination of American youth is the conditioning of youngsters for later favorable reaction to contacts with popular preachments on the glories of evolutionistic force-philosophy, the Nietzsche Superman variety.

All the foregoing beliefs which are symbolized by Superman were condemned by Christ either expressly or by example. For instance, Christians need be no pussyfoot pacifists. But they must ever hold as their ideal His words to Peter: "He who takes the sword will perish by the sword." The Superman philosophy of force and violence is the philosophy of an anti-Christ—Hitler for one. This is poisonous pabulum for young Americans.

Comparison of Christ's methods with Superman heroics brings out clearly an almost total disparity. Jesus Christ, the God-Man, had all the preternatural qualities that fascinate the young Superman fans. But by resolute design He avoided

the sensational fanfare of Superman flying through the air and diving from skyscrapers. "Cast thyself down"—"Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." In fact, Christ's formula for heroism, "Thy will be done," is complete without so much as mention of public demonstrations and show. "When you give alms do not sound a trumpet before you as the hypocrites do in order that they may be honored by men."

The opposition of the Superman schoolbook plan to the ideals and interests of Christian educators is clearly apparent in the further intentions of the promoters to adapt other comic "heroes" in other workbooks. Superman is the wedge. Next comes Wonderwoman, the all-American comic syndicate heroine, counterpart to Superman. After her come Batman, Green-Lantern and the rest of the whole freak, fantastic tribe.

None of these comic book creatures are acceptable as all-round ideals for children. Superman expresses an ideal that is contrary to Christ. Wonderwoman exemplifies a philosophy that is inimical to the Christian ideal of womanhood, Mary, Mother of Christ.

What is the philosophy behind Wonderwoman? It is the philosophy of her creator, the psychologist William Moulton Marston. Judging from his book, *The Lie Detector Test*, and his article on comics in *The American Scholar* (Winter, 1943-44), Dr. Marston is a cynical opportunist with principles that amount, practically, to nothing more than bleak materialism.

Cynical, as in his observation: "When a religious teacher resorts to the next world for a flavor of inevitability, the bright child in this cynical age remarks: 'But how do you know what happens in the next world?'" His despair of Christianity as a practical way of life is succinctly stated in *The Lie Detector Test*: "There is no practical compelling motive to learn moral laws or to follow them." This is surprising news to millions of Christians who have learned and are following laws of high morality by the force of practical motives furnished by faith in Jesus Christ.

"Opportunism" seems the best tab for his extravagant claims that his lie-detection method furnishes the "practical compelling motive" to learn and follow moral laws; and that his comic creature, Wonderwoman, with Superman, are the snow-white saviors who will "establish the new, altruistic definition of heroics in the thought reflexes of the rising generation." This smacks of sales-talk!

Neural-rut materialism is the name for his unqualified denomination of mind as "thought reflexes."

Dr. Marston thus describes his creature, Wonderwoman: "Beautiful as Aphrodite, wise as Athena, stronger than Hercules, and swifter than Mercury." This pantheon of pagan deities is evidently no place for Mary, the ideal of Christians. Wonderwoman's favorite expletives include, "By Zeus!" . . . "Aphrodite commands me!" . . . "Thank Aphrodite!" All of which is just a rehashing of the pagan cults as educational dessert for young American boys and girls.

As a rule, an author's publications are no better than his beliefs. One cannot count on uplifting support of Christian beliefs from a man who speaks of the "new altruistic heroism"—as though he had never heard of Christ or Christian charity.

If an armchair observer of today's "progressive" educational panorama feels that Superman, Wonderwoman and the hundred and one other fantastic comic heroes are just transient, fictional phenomena, and innocuous like the fairy tales, I suggest that he ask a grade-school nun about the influence of Superman and his like on young minds. He will be assured that young Superman addicts can hardly be im-

pressed by the unadorned miracles of Christ and their meaning as contrasted with Superman's sensational marvels. Nor can Christ's humblest of beginnings—in a manger—be appreciated in contrast with the stunning arrival of Superman in a rocket-car from the planet Krypton. Christ's constant reference to His heavenly Father looks almost like weakness as compared with Superman's deific independence of any superiors. And as for Wonderwoman! Her clothes would fit in a man's billfold.

Catholic parents can be sure that the nuns will not allow the Superman-Wonderwoman program in Catholic schools. But what about Catholic parents allowing these fake ideals in Catholic homes? And equally important, what about Catholics allowing Superman promoters to force their pagan paper-gods upon thousands of Catholic teachers and three million Catholic students who are now in our American public schools?

NEWS

There's no such thing as news. The news has come.
It did not come by wire or radio.
It did not have the rub-a-dub-dub of a drum,
It simply arrived hundreds of years ago.

And he, the bringer of it, first poised his wing—
And the wing was blinding as snow in sun is bright—
And everyone knows what maid was listening,
And what the messenger said we still recite.

Ave Maria—Once that word was said,
We had the whole past beaten, we had won;
And all the trepidations and the dread,
The dreary perturbations all were done.
We had the future—had the crib, the Cross,
The wonder of Holy Church, the Last Day's march,
The Last Day's jubilation beyond all loss;
Already we had the wreaths on our triumph-arch.

Dear morning newspaper, your sheet I spread
Upon my knee, you I felicitate;
You have the honor, read, or plain unread,
Of printing footnotes to a news was great.

DANIEL SARGENT

GOVERNMENT PIER, SOUTH HAVEN

The lake was grown with mist after the storm:

Sun making mirrors of the green-tiled cottage roofs,
Sunside of the beach-sown poplars green with light,
Sun rippling on the furrows of the long, slow breakers.

The sodden piles along the concrete pier were shawled
With moss and seaweed.

Fishermen sat with long cane poles
Yellow in the seismographic writing of the water,
The plumb lines meeting.

On other seas the waves
Roar with white thunder; on other beaches
Splintered trees and roofless huts, but here
The swallows dip and swing, gulls poise like music painted
On thin clouds. Small fish dart through the water
Like shadows of other birds.

The poplars brighten southward.
The last few breakers grumble among hidden rocks, and the
fishermen
Wind their lines and walk the concrete causeway stiffly home.

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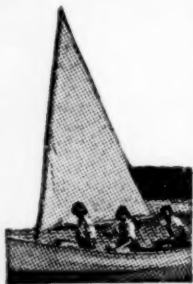
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BOOKS

"OFFENSIVE FOR GOD"

THE APOSTLESHIP OF PUBLIC OPINION. By *Felix Morlion, O.P.* Montreal: Fides. Paper, \$1.25; cloth, \$2.50

IN THE MIDST of a world which has forgotten Christ and even threatens persecution, what shall the Christian do? Is he to retire into the Catacombs, fasten the entrance doors and wait for the storm to blow over? Or is he to go out into this world, meet it on the very battlefields which its strategy has selected, and spread Christ's teaching into the nooks and corners which neither the pulpit nor the classroom can ever hope to reach?

Practically, this matter was decided by Saint Paul some two thousand years ago; but since the old question ever recurs in different language and with varying excuses for inaction, the answer needs to be stated anew and in modern terms. And this, with energy, courage and ingenuity, is what the *Pro Deo* movement and its chief spiritual advisor, Father Felix A. Morlion, O.P., are doing.

"Something is wrong with the Christians," says Father Morlion, "if too few men stand up to take on the tasks that must be performed to save the world. If we did not speak as Christians to Christians, we should keep silent when practical men accuse us of wanting to perform the impossible. But God has a way of asking of men impossible things—and then making them possible." Thus Christ told the Galilean fishermen to go and "teach all nations."

The various *Pro Deo* centers were established in Belgium, Holland and other European countries precisely in order to perfect the techniques—and with the techniques the philosophy—needed in order to develop the penetration of religious ideas into public life. Father Morlion's first organizational work was the foundation, in 1930, of the "offensive for God" movement in Belgium. A film service (DOCIP) followed, as well as a Catholic Press Center in 1934, and the Catholic Center of Promotion in 1937. The apostolic Dutch layman, Dr. Hein Hoeben, developed similar work in the Netherlands and, finally, by pooling with Father Morlion, an international press center resulted. At the outbreak of the war, this was servicing 1,500 papers in thirty countries. In July, 1940, with the aid of the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, an international center of information *Pro Deo* was founded in Portugal. The fear of Hitler brought it to this country, where it is now established at 5 Beekman Street in New York. In the meantime Dr. Hein Hoeben sealed the work with martyrdom by his heroic death in February, 1942, at the hands of Nazi torturers in the infamous S. S. prison of Berlin.

The *Pro Deo* techniques and their workings are described here in vivid detail. Some may seem novel to American readers; others are a restatement and new evaluation of methods already somewhat familiar to the work of the Catholic press and of various Catholic national movements in the United States. Distinctive is the precise philosophy which is the guide to the apostolate of public opinion as Father Morlion conceives it. Presentation of Catholic revealed doctrine in terms intelligible to the modern mind will lose, in his belief, a great part of its efficacy unless it is accompanied by an effort to interpret, from day to day, the events and movements of the time in terms of a sound philosophy of morals, politics and psychology.

"What happens in souls," Father Morlion says, "we shall never know. But we know that modern inventions are made to be instruments of the spirit and that through them can be established deep contact from soul to soul. . . . Through the most diverse modern media of communication, behind the news and the features, story and picture, the forlorn soul of the modern semi-pagan can meet his brother, the Christian."

Father Morlion's great work is to challenge all to put their hand to the plow and not turn back.

"This is the greatest opportunity in centuries," he confidently concludes, "for a world-wide revival of Christianity." We possess the eternal values and the *philosophia perennis* for their application. "More and more," he notes, "the common man is becoming convinced that somehow we must find a coherent philosophy for our democracy," and the search for

that philosophy leads to God. If we wish to make full use of the opportunities we possess in the United States, we cannot neglect a careful study of the ideas and methods presented by Father Morlion.

One of the most encouraging features in his philosophy is his recognition of the value from the standpoint of religion quite as much as from that of good politics, of the sound Thomistic tradition as to the origin and nature of the State which underlies our American concept of government.

JOHN LAFARGE

MAKING THE GOOD NEWS FRESH

ENJOYING THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Margaret T. Monro. Longmans, Green and Co. \$2.50

THE ORDINARY READER is here provided with a new and delightful approach to the Bible. He is given brief, chatty directions on the order in which he should read the books of the New Testament, and in connection with each book he is supplied with information about the author of that book, its leading ideas and its place in the life of the early Church as well as in our own lives. This material is distributed over twenty-one short chapters which are labeled "weeks," because the plan calls for the reading of one or more books a week. The chapters are closed with a paragraph or two headed "Something to Think About," where intriguing problems are proposed with the suggestion that a solution be sought before turning to the Appendix with the solutions of the author.

Obviously the reader is expected to give most of his attention to the text of the New Testament itself and to read it with pleasure. This pleasure should come readily under the breezy guidance of the "Weeks" and, along with the enjoyment, there is sure to come spiritual profit from this close contact with Jesus as presented by writers who did their work under the inspiration of His Holy Spirit.

Though an eye is kept on the chronological order in which the books were written, this order is largely set aside to make the reading more interesting and intelligent. The "First Week" deals with the Acts of the Apostles; then come the earlier Epistles of Saint Paul, with another peep into the Acts, to be followed by Saint Mark's Gospel linked with the first Epistle of Saint Peter. Saint Matthew is read only after the other two Synoptics have been handled, because it is the most familiar to most readers. The remaining books are scattered through the weeks with some regard for the time of their composition, and the final weeks are devoted to the works of Saint John. The various hints for each week, together with the little discussions in notes and in Appendix A, are skilfully arranged to stir the reader to an attentive reading of the scriptural text.

Some slips or inconsistencies naturally crop up in a work of this kind. The earliest New Testament writings are said to be the Epistles to the Thessalonians (p. 15), but later this honor is given to Saint Matthew's Gospel (p. 18 note). Saint Paul is strangely supposed to have written to the Thessalonians in order to refute false teachers who were telling them that the Second Coming of Christ was already over and that they had missed it, but it is clear from the Epistles themselves and from Catholic commentaries that Saint Paul was relieving their worry about their brethren who had died before this Second Coming and that he was urging them not to spend their days in idleness and daily expectation of the end of the world. (p. 19). Nablus is the ancient Sichem, not Samaria (p. 26). The Decapolis was a federation of Greek cities, not the tetrarchy of Philip (p. 61). Nicodemus was a Pharisee, not a Sadducee; not all the Jewish priests were Sadducees, nor were most of our Lord's disciples Pharisees (pp. 68-69). The New Testament books are arranged in our Bibles on the same plan as the books of the Old Testament, the historical books being put first, then the didactic, and lastly the prophetic (p. 197). The common opinion is that Jesus cleansed the Temple twice, once toward the beginning of His ministry and again toward the close (p. 169).

The ordinary reader will not be hampered by such details, and he can be sure of many enjoyable hours with the New Testament if he follows these "twenty-one weeks."

WILLIAM A. DOWD

Just Published . . .

A RETREAT for RELIGIOUS

by

Rev. Andrew Green, O.S.B.

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COMMENTATORS ON EAST AND WEST

THROUGH JAPANESE EYES. By Otto D. Tolischus. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2
EUROPE NOW. By H. V. Kaltenborn. Didier Publishers. \$2.50

TO INDICT A NATION is one thing; when that nation indicts itself we have an entirely different and a much more serious situation. That is substantially what Japan has done, in the record presented by Otto D. Tolischus. It is one of the blackest records which any nation in history has created for itself. The possibilities of changing the Japanese mentality, subjected as it has been to centuries of indoctrination with Shintoism, do not seem especially auspicious. The statements made by representative Japanese, both before and after Pearl Harbor, show the gulf which exists between the Japanese and the Western mind. Possibly it is a bottomless abyss, rather than merely a gulf.

In seventeen chapters, each prefaced by an admirable synthesis of the problem to be discussed and giving evidence of the author's understanding of the Japanese as a result of years of residence in Japan, such topics are discussed as Japan's war aims, the god-emperor, the plan for world conquest, the appeal to color, the American obstacle, and other subjects of equal importance and interest. It is true that every nation, including our own, has had its jingoistic statesmen and writers, but it seems doubtful if any other nation has had as many threatening spokesmen as Japan has produced. Perhaps it is difficult to ascertain precisely the extent to which these beliefs are held by the rank and file of the people. If widely held, the mere military subjugation of the Japanese will be but the first faltering step required to bring about the transformation of the Japanese mentality.

In order to ascertain the road yet to be traversed, it will be helpful to note the full implications of the following quotations, all made by outstanding Japanese: "Japan is the foundation and axis of the world; Japan is the ruling nation of the world"; "Japan's war aims are the liberation of Asia and the destruction of America and Britain"; "The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred; He must be revered and is inviolable"; "Japan, in its sublime and lofty national essence, has embodied a true totalitarianism. Japan's glorious distinction is its having rejected the individual and activated him as a link of totality." In the Japanese faith, Shintoism, there are no moral and ethical codes, no concept of humanity or of human dignity. It is well adapted for producing fanatical soldiers, but it can never be harmonized with the Christian concept of civilization. The Army and Navy report released by our Government on Japanese atrocities in the Philippines is given as the concluding material.

H. V. Kaltenborn visited Europe late in 1944 and during the first weeks of 1945. Most of his time was spent in Italy, France, Belgium and Britain. His impressions are presented in much the same style that characterizes his radio offerings. He has little hope for a restored Italy; he thinks that France will recover rather rapidly from the war; he has considerable respect for the work of Pius XII; in England he saw much that he admired; he fears that Communism may exert an influence in postwar Europe altogether out of proportion to the actual number of Communists in the various countries in Western Europe, and he is of the opinion that "most Communist leaders are more loyal to Soviet Russia than to their own countries." Kaltenborn fans will like the book since it gives them in book form the substance of many broadcasts made by the author.

PAUL KINIERY

THE LAMBS: A STORY OF PRE-VICTORIAN ENGLAND.
By Katharine Anthony. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50

FOR GENERATIONS lovers of literature have delighted in the essays of Charles Lamb. Their peculiarly personal quality has made readers deeply interested in his life and in his friends, which are reflected so intimately and yet so subtly in his books.

The legend of his sister, Mary Lamb, over whose life hung the threat of constantly recurring periods of insanity, has received less attention and examination. That the emphasis of this new book is on Mary Lamb is not surprising when one recalls that Katharine Anthony's previous books have

been biographies of such influential women as Margaret Fuller and Louisa May Alcott.

Mary Lamb is presented both as a Bluestocking with ideas ahead of her own time and also as the chief inspiration of her brother. Much of the volume is devoted to probing, in terms of modern psychopathology, the mental problems of the pair. "Charles," we are told, "may have had paranoid traits intermixed with his basically manic-depressive character. Mary's troubles were of almost purely manic-depressive origin."

But the trouble is that, rising on the wings of psycho-analytic jargon, Katharine Anthony carries her speculations far beyond the point which close adhesion to facts would warrant. This is especially true in her chapter "Electra and Orestes," where she suggests that the relation between brother and sister was a morbid one—that in fact Mary murdered her mother in a fit of insanity because of unconscious jealousy. Such speculations may be luridly interesting, but they are not necessarily sound without a deeper basis in biographical facts as they are available to us.

Catholic readers will be particularly interested to hear that the biographer suggests that Sarah Lamb, the aunt of Charles and Mary, and indeed that whole side of the family, was Catholic. But the evidence is of the slimmest kind.

This reviewer is inclined to quote in reference to this biography the words that Lamb wrote of Godwin's life of Chaucer: "I may be wrong, but I think that there is one considerable error running through it, which is a conjecturing spirit, a fondness for filling in the picture by supposing what he did and how he felt, where the materials are scanty."

JOHN PICK

THE BUILDERS OF THE BRIDGE: *The Story of John Roebling and His Son.* By D. B. Steinman. Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$3.50

ABOUT AMERICANS outstanding in the second half of the nineteenth century, the biographies of the soldiers and the statesmen, the captains of industry and the wizards of finance, are numerous. We may read, for example, of the financial manipulations of a Hill and a Harriman, and of the labors of the "Paddies" and "Chinks" who built their imperial railroads. But we will search long for information about those anonymous engineers who, against the opposition of stubborn nature and hostile men, designed and constructed the arteries of our nation.

It is something of a refreshing novelty, then, to come across a book devoted to the most renowned family in the history of American bridge-building. To this joint biography of John Roebling and his son, Washington, Mr. Steinman, himself a bridge engineer, has brought his technical knowledge and the fruits of a long study of his subjects and their engineering accomplishments. The author has not completely solved the difficult problem of weaving into a single strand the details of two lives. In a few instances technical details are expounded in a fashion not immediately clear to the layman. At times the progress of the story is interrupted by needless repetitions.

Generally, however, the results are pleasing. A typically American success story is unfolded by the recounting of the details of John Roebling's progress from a struggling immigrant to the peak of the engineering profession in America. The history of the construction of his great bridges over Niagara gorge and the Ohio River is interestingly told. And to the countless millions who have traversed the great span the tale of the Roeblings and the Brooklyn Bridge would prove particularly absorbing.

FRANCIS X. CURRAN

STRAW IN THE SUN. By Charlie May Simon. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$2.75

THIS AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORK by Charlie May Simon, wife of the poet John Gould Fletcher, and an established juvenile author, is a piece of real and adult Americana. Taking her title from a passage by Thoreau, she informs her book with that spirit of reverence and simplicity which is the best of the American rural tradition. Having returned to her family's home valley in the Ozarks, the author set to work to build a home, to cultivate the land, and to hold it for three years to satisfy homesteading requirements. The forthright narration of her struggle against

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This story of the author's own growth, and her loving description of the beauty of her homestead, and of the sturdy people of the place, including Vannie and Bob, the children who came to live with her, will satisfy all who love rural living, and give new support to those who consider it a vital solution to many of today's most distressing problems.

JOSEPHINE NICHOLLS HUGHES

ROLLING STONE. By Fred Stone. Whittlesey House: McGraw-Hill Book Co. \$3

MONTGOMERY AND STONE as black-face comedians were great favorites in the heyday of vaudeville, and even more popular in such extravaganzas as *The Wizard of Oz* and *Chin-Chin*. They were partners for twenty-two years and the only contract between them was a handshake. Will Rogers and his family were neighbors and dear friends of the Stones for many years.

Fred Stone tells all about his fascinating life in all phases of show business in his autobiography, *Rolling Stone*. If "genius is the infinite capacity for taking pains," then Fred Stone is really a genius, because he learned everything, in his work and in his play, by the hardest kind of persistent practice.

While laughing spontaneously with him in his amusing accounts of his progress, the heart is warmed by his affectionate tributes to his wonderful parents, his beautiful and understanding wife and his three lovely daughters. The book is put down with a very definite impression that Fred Stone is a kindly and generous man, an honor to any profession and a joy to his many, many friends. CATHERINE MURPHY

COLLECTED POEMS. By E. J. Pratt. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3

WELL MIGHT William Rose Benét have thrown up his cap in joy at his tardy "discovery" of E. J. Pratt, the accomplished Canadian poet who already had eleven books of poetry to his credit. Mr. Pratt is a find which any literary explorer might feature in his trophy room. He is a superb raconteur, creator of lissom rhythms and explosive rhymes, a master of organic blank verse. "Brébeuf and His Brethren" is a notable addition to our religious and narrative poetry. The portrayal of the gigantic Brébeuf, making himself a slave to the savages to win their souls and putting down the rebellious crusading ancestors who awoke in his blood with brandished weapons, is a strong man's tribute to a strong saint. No less admirable are the pictures of the other saintly Frenchmen in this splendid story. "The Titanic" and "The Roosevelt and the Antinoe" illuminate Conrad's skill with Marlowe's felicity; they are misty with spindrift, salt-caked, proof positive that Mr. Pratt is no *salon* sailor. If one begins to list noteworthy verses, one runs the risk of reprinting Mr. Pratt's index. There are humor, wit, tenderness, acrobatic mastery of verse form, deep reverence, balance and a fine wholesomeness in this poetry. WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

REV. WILLIAM A. DOWD, S.J., is professor of Sacred Scripture at Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Ill.

JOHN PICK, on leave of absence from Boston College, is teaching at Groton Academy.

FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J., is completing his theological studies at Weston College, Weston, Mass.

THEATRE

FOXHOLE IN THE PARLOR. A remarkably effective performance by Montgomery Clift makes this confused and confusing play seem substantially more important from an orchestra seat in the Booth than it appears in retrospect. Intending to write a problem play, Elsa Shelley, the author, apparently was unable to decide which problem she wanted to discuss—the rehabilitation of disabled veterans or how to build an enduring peace. The two themes are welded, or, better say, spliced together in a flimsy play divided against itself and breaking in the middle, with the peace problem on the short end.

Miss Shelley makes no original contribution to the discussion on how to achieve lasting peace. Everything she says has been said many times before, usually in a more interesting manner. Perhaps her ideas on rehabilitating veterans are just as trite, but Mr. Clift's sympathetic interpretation of the guinea-pig role, which rises close to the stratosphere of fine acting, lifts that side of the play to the plane of plausibility and importance. As a convalescent soldier, recovering from battle fatigue, he gives one of the outstanding performances of the year.

The other members of the cast do not reach a similar high level but, with one exception, they interpret their parts better than the author wrote them. Reginald Beane, in the role of an intelligent Negro menial, is too stagey. John Haggott and Lee Simonson, respectively, are responsible for the direction and sets, the latter doing a superior job. Harry Bloomfield is the producer.

MEMPHIS BOUND. If you want a gay and exhilarating evening in the theatre, as bright and undefiled as summer sunshine, you will find your heart's desire at the Broadway, and later on, according to report, at the Belmont, where Bill Robinson is starring, and will continue to star in a delicious blend of boogie woogie and Gilbert and Sullivan. The Gilbert and Sullivan contribution comes from *Pinafore*, while the boogie woogie element is supplied by half-a-score of featured Negro entertainers, with Avon Long in the top spot, supported by a sepia chorus of half a hundred girls and boys with nimble feet and good singing voices.

This radiant musical is a John Wildberg production, directed by Robert Ross, with dances by Al White Jr., scenery and lights by George Jenkins and costumes by Lucinda Ballard. The book is by Albert Barker and Sally Benson. The result of their collective effort is a show that favors the eye while caressing the funny bone.

Sheila Guys, Ida James and Thelma Carpenter accentuate the positive of feminine pulchritude while Frank Wilson, Edith Wilson and Ada Brown contribute their share to the comedy. But it is Bill Robinson, the superb hooper and grand showman, who provides the peak of the fun. His playing around with the dainty satire of the Savoyards, not to mention his fancy dancing, is alone sufficient to make a merry evening. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

THRILL OF A ROMANCE. Strange to say, the romance unfolded here is the least thrilling part of the picture. Thrills are guaranteed for everybody, however; for some through the film's lush Technicolor; for others the stars will shine, with Esther Williams looking beautiful, diving and swimming even more delightfully; with Van Johnson contributing a typical, likable performance, with Lauritz Melchior gaily providing comedy as well as several vocal numbers. And for the modern-minded, there is Tommy Dorsey and his orchestra giving forth with music that is in the groove. As for the story, it reveals the problems of a bride who, after a whirlwind courtship, is left on her wedding-day at their honeymoon hotel by her wealthy husband, for whom business is more important than marriage. When she meets a famous war hero at the resort, things become complicated and, though the wife does attempt to live up to her vows, at the finale some involved goings-on have set her free. It is only fair to say that the wife-in-name-only theme has been handled

carefully, but the subject is one that is better left alone and certainly has little place in light entertainment of this kind. Otherwise, the picture is a potpourri of colorful, animated ingredients that can be counted on to please *adults*. (MGM)

BLOOD ON THE SUN. James Cagney has been away from the screen for quite a spell; but he returns in this rip-roaring spy yarn to prove that he is still a hard-hitting, fast-talking hero, who has not lost his way with the ladies, Sylvia Sidney being the one in question this time. Excitement and suspense vie with each other when the *Tanaka Plan*, the Japanese counterpart of *Mein Kampf*, falls into the hands of the American editor of a Tokyo newspaper who dares to print it. The whole thing results in a glorified cops-and-robbers chase, in which Mr. Cagney has a field day. Miss Sidney is a mysterious and fascinatingly arrayed espionage agent, who at the finale carries away the document and leaves Cagney battling with his enemies. Even when the highly dramatic interludes descend to plain old-fashioned melodrama, this offering will have *mature* audiences breathing a little faster. (Cagney-United Artists)

PILLOW TO POST. Why Ida Lupino came down from her usual dramatic heights to star in this comedy is not evident; it certainly was not worth her time. Though the story attempts to conceal it—with its motor-court setting and the difficulties of a girl salesman who attempts to beat the housing shortage by having an officer pose as her husband—the whole thing is shopworn bedroom farce. As entertainment the film rates nil, and it is *objectionable* for it contains an expression which has an obscene origin and reference. (Warner Brothers) MARY SHERIDAN

PARADE

THE SUPREME COURT recently invalidated a Reno divorce granted to a husband and wife from North Carolina, supporting in its decision the contention of North Carolina that the couple in question had not set up a bona fide residence in Nevada. . . . Immediately from various parts of the land rose voices demanding uniform divorce laws for the entire nation. . . . Apart from Constitutional difficulties, there are other obstacles to the achievement of this goal, a formidable obstruction being the wide divergence in State laws. . . . Examples of this divergence occur weekly. . . . Last week in Seattle a man was granted a divorce because his wife preferred the company of nine cats to his companionship, and in addition made him sleep with two of the beasts. In this instance, the State of Washington recognized cats as a cause for the breaking up of homes. . . . Other States, however, reject cats as grounds for home-wrecking. . . . Recently, a Denver woman won a divorce after testifying that her husband kept tickling her feet. Colorado is probably not the only State which recognizes feet-tickling as justification for divorce, but there are certainly some States which fail to include this type of tickling, no matter how prolonged, as legal justification for the sundering of families. . . . Last week a husband obtained a divorce because his wife made him carry packages in public, a practice which he considered damaging to his prestige. Compulsory bundle carrying, however, does not destroy a family in some localities. Instances of the divergence in State laws could be recited *ad infinitum*.

. . . There are States which award divorce in cases where a spouse throws chinaware or vases or similar articles at the other spouse, and there are States which refuse divorce no matter how much crockery is thrown. . . . Sarcastic reference to the wife's biscuits will bring divorce in some districts, but not in others. . . . A national divorce law would very probably include all the divorce grounds of all the States. . . . It would list feet-tickling, infatuation with cats, hurling of crockery, bitter remarks with regard to millinery or cooking, correction of a spouse's pronunciation, stupid card playing, involuntary bundle-carrying, raucous snoring, and a thousand and one other reasons, so many reasons in fact that any married person would be able to obtain a divorce at any time without the slightest difficulty. . . . A

national divorce law would thus accelerate the process of home wrecking which the State laws are accomplishing now in a somewhat slower fashion. . . . Since the family is the very foundation of human society, the idea of speeding up the process does not appear to be a good one. . . . Instead of being speeded up, the process should be slowed down. . . . One of the arguments employed years ago against the legalization of divorce was that once divorce is permitted for even the gravest reason it would soon be allowed for any old reason at all. . . . All the States of the Union, save one, are each week proving the soundness of this argument. . . . Abolition of all divorce laws is what the country needs. . . . Only thus can family life be saved. JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

NEGRO POETRY

EDITOR: I am surprised to note how little attention is given in AMERICA to the very beautiful poetry written by members of the colored race. The *Herald Tribune* published, some days ago, an exquisite poem written by the Negro poet, Eugene T. Maleska, showing their appreciation.

I was pleased to see it.

New York, N. Y.

ALICE E. WARREN

CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

EDITOR: Father Delaney's superb and almost humorous "eulogy" on the unlamented Sawdust Caesar evinces a striking contrast to a common contention when he says:

In spite of much confused writing on the subject, there is no affinity between Nazism and Fascism, except the overweening desire of two men to be complete masters of the states they ruled.

This affinity, he points out clearly, is not an *essential* one, as is generally understood.

Yet, is it not true that both ideologies are *substantially* the same in that they are authoritarian forms of government which exercise rigid controls over the functions and activities of private enterprise and which recognize the occupational and economic rights of labor through the medium of trade unions? Are they not also characterized by an un-Christian supernaturalism, one which is anti-racial in its social attitudes and antagonistic towards international collaboration?

Los Angeles, Calif.

CHARLES D. WOOD

(*Governmental control of private industry and recognition of trade unions are not the peculiar characteristics of a totalitarian state. Some control of private industry for the public welfare has been found necessary by practically every democratic state. This necessity has been explicitly recognized by the Popes. So, too, has the natural, inherent right of the workers to organize into unions for collective bargaining.* EDITOR.)

CATHOLIC PROTESTANTS

EDITOR: The article of Charles F. Donovan, *Is a Communist My Neighbor?* (May 19), is to be commended. It is the part of good leadership to point out the faults of the Catholic body. Too negative an attitude, to be too often on the opposition, is a fault Catholics are inclined to drop into. Organize the world and you won't have to worry about Communism. Some of us protest so much that we are in danger of becoming protestants.

San Francisco, Calif.

PETER M. DUNNE, S.J.

(*The views expressed under "Correspondence" are the views of the writers. Though the Editor publishes them, he may or may not agree with the writer. The Editor believes that letters should be limited to 300 words. He likes short, pithy letters, merely tolerates lengthy ones.*)

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THE WORD

THE HOLY SPIRIT is piling mystery on mystery in the early weeks of the Pentecostal season in which He is to teach us all things. First He taught us the mystery of the Holy Trinity, then the mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ; today in this third Sunday of His season He is teaching us the mystery of man, or rather the mystery of God's goodness to man. Without fully understanding, we accept the Trinity. Without fully understanding, we accept the mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ. Similarly we accept the mystery that is ourselves and God's goodness to us.

Saint Peter in today's Epistle bids us throw all our worries on God, for "He hath care of you" (1 Peter 5:6-11). He assures us that "God, the giver of all grace, who has called us to enjoy, after a little suffering, His eternal glory in Christ Jesus, will Himself give you mastery, and steadiness and strength." The Gradual of the Mass says: "Cast thy care upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee." The Gospel tells us of the eagerness of God for the souls of sinners, and the great "joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke 15: 1-10).

We really are mysterious creatures. Every single one of us is capable of great good or great wrong. There is something in us, even when we have fallen very low, that still thrills us to high ideals of heroism and sanctity. The worst cynic admires real sanctity when he meets it. And there is something else in us, even when we have accepted goodness as our goal, that attracts us to what is less good, to what is sinful. We are energetic and we are lazy. We are deeply sincere and we are hypocritical. We are kindly and cruel. We are capable of lifelong unselfish devotedness and petty selfishness. We are generous and greedy. We can forgive the greatest injustice and harbor for years deep resentment over little wrongs. We are conscious of our own sins and yet severe in the judgment of others. We are stubborn, self-willed, jealous, lustful, greedy, selfish; and yet, until we close our eyes and hearts to good in a last hardening of stubborn pride, we are never wholly bad.

Strange as we are, God is more mysterious still. He loves what He has made with a fierce love, and He never gives up on any human being until that being in the last moment of life deliberately rejects the friendship of God. He looks upon us as the most precious things on earth. He has surrounded us with the good and beautiful to draw us through the magnetism of beauty to an understanding and love of Himself, the source of all good. He sent His own Son to die for us. He has worked out for us the way to happiness in His commandments and in the day-by-day example of our Lord's thirty-three years of life. He inspires men and women with so deep a love for each other that they eagerly accept the responsibilities of married life that other precious human beings may have a chance for happiness.

He inspires young girls to the sacrifice even of motherhood, that children in schools may be taught the true way of life, that in hospitals and orphanages and poverty-stricken homes, lonely, lost, bitter people may see something of His own goodness in the unselfish care His servants lavish on them. He inspires young men with a generous desire of priesthood so that, wherever men may be, there also will be a priest, encouraging, inspiring, offering a Sacramental grace for every need of life, and every phase and moment of life. Through the ages He has inspired chosen souls to heights of sanctity, even after years of sinful living, so that their example may lead us upwards and onwards.

When we fall, there is a conscience He has put in us to prick us, and the hurt of self-made misery. When we are struggling successfully to goodness, there is a barely understandable joy of the nearness of Christ, promise of greater joy to come. He tempts us to goodness by promise of reward. He bolsters His laws of happiness by threats of punishments to come. By every possible means, by joy and pain, by friendliness and loneliness, by fear and by love, He is continually trying to lead us into the way of happiness.

We do not explain His goodness when we say we are His children, important, dear to Him. We merely state the fact, joyfully accept it and try to be worthy of the care and love of our most devoted friend.

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